1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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or tribes, were at war with each other, the latter not being willing to permit that the French should establish themselves in that country. At last the Iroquois, finding themselves between two fires, and without any prospect of conquering the Lenape by arms, and seeing the necessity of withdrawing with their families, from the shores of the St. Lawrence, to the interior of the country, where the French could not easily reach them, fell upon a stratagem, which they flattered themselves would, if successful, secure to them not only a peace with the Lenape, but also with all the other tribes connected with them; so that they would then have but one enemy (the French) to contend with.

This plan was very deeply laid, and was calculated to deprive the Lenape and their allies, not only of their power but of their military fame, which had exalted them above all the other Indian nations. They were to be persuaded to abstain from the use of arms, and assume the station of mediators and umpires among their warlike neighbours. In the language of the Indians, they were to be made *women*.* It must be understood that among these nations wars are never brought to an end but by the interference of the weaker sex. The men, however tired of fighting, are afraid of being considered as cowards if they should intimate a desire for peace. It is not becoming, say they, for a warrior, with the bloody weapon in his hand, to hold pacific language to his enemy. He must shew to the end a determined courage, and appear as ready and willing to fight as at the beginning of the contest. Neither, say they, is it proper, to threaten and to sue in the same breath, to hold the peace belt in one hand, and the tomahawk in the other; men's words, as well as their actions, should be of a piece, all good or all bad; for it is a fixed maxim of theirs, which they apply on all occasions, that good can

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* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

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never dwell with evil. They also think that a treaty produced by threats or by force, cannot be binding. With these dispositions, war would never have ceased among Indians, until the extermination of one or the other party, if the tender and compassionate sex had not come forward, and by their moving speeches persuaded the enraged combatants to bury their hatchets, and make peace with each other. On these occasions they were very eloquent, they would lament with great feeling the losses suffered on both sides, when there was not a warrior, perhaps, who had not lost a son, a brother or a friend. They would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and, above all, of bereaved mothers. The pains of child-birth, the anxieties attending the progress of their sons from infancy to manhood, they had willingly and even cheerfully suffered; but after all these trials, how cruel was it for them to see those promising youths whom they had reared with so much care, fall victims to the rage of war, and a prey to a relentless enemy; to see them slaughtered on the field of battle, or put to death, as prisoners, by a protracted torture, in the midst of the most exquisite torments. The thought of such scenes made them curse their own existence, and shudder at the idea of bearing children. Then they would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear to them, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless infants, to turn their faces once more towards their homes, families and friends, to forgive the wrongs suffered from each other, to lay aside their deadly weapons, and smoke together the pipe of amity and peace. They had given on both sides sufficient proofs of their courage; the contending nations were alike high minded and brave, and they must now embrace as friends those whom they had learned to respect as enemies. Speeches like these seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women, by this honourable function of peace-makers, were placed in a situation by no means undignified. It would

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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181 They certainly (I am here speaking of the men) show
577 a reverence for each other, which is visible on all occasions; they often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship. Their general principle, that good and bad cannot mingle or dwell together in one heart, and therefore must not come into contact, seems to be their guide on all occasions. So, likewise, when travelling, whether they are few, or many, they are cheerful, and resigned to the accidents which may befal them; never impatient, quarrelsome, or charging any one, or one another, with being in fault, or the occasion of what had happened; even though one should lose his all by the neglect or carelessness of the other, yet they will not fly into a passion, but patiently bear with the loss, thinking within themselves that such a one feels sorry enough already, and therefore it would be unreasonable to add to his pain. They judge with calmness
672 on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

672 To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the
682 cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said: "as my "gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out "of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides

1 [Lenapian. See ca'l. 116/p. 348. - Aug 4st]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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duct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.

CHAPTER XIX.

WARS AND THE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THEM.

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IT is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend, and, therefore, that whoever wrongs or does harm to another, is his ENEMY. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations, tribes and other independent associations of men. If they commit murder on another people, encroach on their lands, by making it a practice to come within their bounds and take the game from them, if they rob or steal from their hunting camps, or, in short, are guilty of any act of unjust aggression, they cannot be considered otherwise than as ENEMIES; they are declared to be such, and the aggrieved nation think themselves justifiable in punishing them. If murder has been perpetrated, revenge is taken in the same way. If a lesser injury has been done, a message is sent to the chief of the nation to which the wrong-doers belong, to enquire whether the act complained of was authorised, if not to give them warning not to permit the like thing to be done again. If theft or some other like offence has been committed, restitution is at the same time demanded, or such reparation as the case admits of, and the chiefs are de-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

484 usually take some of the younger men along, who supply the larder during the journey by engaging in the chase. A journey is rarely hurried for usually it makes little difference whether they arrive at their destination a day late or not, and they are everywhere at home in the woods. They rarely leave camp early in the morning, wishing always to have a good meal before starting and sometimes they delay to mend their shoes. This inconveniences Europeans, who may be obliged to use the Indians as guides very much, especially when they are anxious to reach a certain place at a certain time. It is best policy, however, to accommodate oneself to the Indians, for admonition or remonstrance easily offends them and makes them act in a very contrary manner.

●577 Indians dislike having their evil conduct or acts uncovered and held up to them. They are able, however, in subtle fashion so to touch upon such subjects that the parties concerned will understand. This method they prefer, not wishing to offer an open affront. It has happened that one openly accused of an evil deed, murder or the like, has, in desperation, ended his life. They sometimes reveal secret things by means of dreams they pretend to have had when they do not wish to show from what source they have their information. Their desires and inclinations, likewise, they will reveal through pretended dreams, when they are ashamed to make these known directly; often they achieve their purposes in this manner. Chiefs occasionally receive a secret message which must be made known. They will say that at night, while sitting by the fire, some one rose out of the earth, handed over a string or belt of wampum and, whispering the message in their ears, disappeared again in the earth. In this fashion a message may go a hundred miles or more under the earth, coming to the surface where it was intended that it should, often at the fire of a chief of another nation. This happens when war is to be made but kept secret for the time being, the message, therefore, being very difficult to understand for any but the chief.

574 They are desirous of retaining the favor and friendship of other nations. When they receive visitors, therefore, the latter are shown all honor and entertained in the best possible way, in

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The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

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The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Wi·tapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

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Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

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The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

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The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come. 821

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief. 787 776 765

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls. 821 787 [824]

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge. [577]

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit.

Medicine

42. Diseases

To the list on the table Roger Williams adds toothache as one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently.

54. Juggling tricks.

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient was dangerously ill, according to John Johnston. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint.

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart. 352

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above. 584 [936] [585]

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first proposal they received. The old people kept telling them this and to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very 584 577 539

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

584 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
●577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went off. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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643 and upright course of conduct, of good examples from the heads
666 of the nation etc. During the speech the speaker holds in his hand a belt of wampum, which he places around the neck of the chief, telling him, "now you have the speech, see that you keep it, and adhere to the advice contained in it."

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election is held. He also said that the principal chief was always from the Wolf tribe, but was elected by the other tribes. In view of his statements that the brother must be chosen over the nephew or son, and the nephew over the son, and that the chief could name his successor, it is possible that here he means the other tribes installed the new chief.

All four modern informants said that the council and the people in joint session elected the new chief.

ZEISBERGER said the election of a new chief was made by "the captains," by which it may be assumed that he meant the war chiefs.

225. Civil chief can be removed

643 CAPTAIN PIPE—As chiefs are elected by the will of the people, in the same manner they are removed from office. Not by direct accusation and trial however, for they are careful not to
● [577] arraign an individual publicly before the nation whether he be great or low, but by neglecting to invite him to councils or refusal to listen to or execute his orders. This being done by the aged and influential, whose motives are made known at proper times, the neglect becomes general, the people contemn his authority and he is gradually lowered down to the private station, whence he does not attempt to rise but by a long course of good conduct or by some extraordinary effort of genius or political intrigue by which he can overpower his enemies at a single movement.

228. Age of succession of chief

JOHN JOHNSTON—No particular age, it depends on the ability, information and qualifications of the persons.

[P. 37; A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
●577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 134; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

[+ 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death.
[177] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this
[764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 They say there are seven points of good
577 and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They
775 825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out